

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 149462
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DRAFTED BY NEA/P:REUNDELAND:RGH

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S/PRS - MR. CARTER (INFO)

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SSM - MR. MC ANDREW

NEA - MR. COLLUMS

NEA/ARN - MR. REUTHER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE

USINT BAGHDAD IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DOHA IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MANAMA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY RABAT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SANA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TUNIS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION SINAI IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL DHAHRAN IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE

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PAGE 02 STATE 149462

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE

INFO CIA
DOD
NSC

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CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: DEPARTMENT PRESS BRIEFING - JUNE 27

REF: STATE 149108

FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND GUIDANCE FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS
FROM DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN'S PRESS BRIEFING FOR JUNE 27,
1977:

Q. COULD YOU CONFIRM THE REPORT THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS
AUTHORIZED THE SALE OF DOLS 115,000,000 WORTH OF WEAPONS TO
ISRAEL?

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PAGE 03 STATE 149462

A. I CAN CONFIRM THAT REPORT. I CAN'T GO MUCH BEYOND IT.

Q. CAN YOU CONFIRM THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS AUTHORIZED IT?

A. I CAN CONFIRM THE ACCURACY OF THAT REPORT.

Q. ASSOCIATED WITH THE REPORT HAVE BEEN VARYING INTERPRE-
TATIONS THAT THEY REPRESENT A DECISION, A JUDGMENT BY
THE ADMINISTRATION, NOT TO PRESSURE ISRAEL ON THE WEAPONS
FRONT WHILE NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN THE CURRENT STAGE. IN
OTHER WORDS, IT'S AN AFFIRMATION OF THE UNITED STATES'

COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL MILITARILY AND IN FACT REPRESENTS
A DECISION NOT TO USE MILITARY AID AS A PRESSURE POINT.
IS THAT AN ACCURATE ANALYSIS?

A. I WOULD SIMPLY SAY THAT THE DECISION--AND I REALLY AM
NOT PREPARED TO GO INTO THIS VERY FAR--WOULD HAVE TO BE
VIEWED IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR OVERALL POLICY TOWARD
ISRAEL'S MILITARY SECURITY AND TO THE STABILITY OF THAT
REGION. BUT I AM NOT REALLY GOING TO TRY TO CHARACTERIZE
IT IN THE WAYS THAT YOU RAISED.

Q. SENATOR JAVITS IS SAYING IN A SPEECH TODAY THAT THE
SECURITY OF ISRAEL--I DON'T KNOW HOW TO PUT IT--COULD NOT
BE SECURE BY RETURNING TO VIRTUALLY THE 1967 BOUNDARIES

AS ADMINISTRATION POLICY WOULD LIKE, AS OUTLINED BY VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE. HOW DO YOU DEAL WITH THAT IN THE CONTEXT OF SECURITY FOR ISRAEL?

A. WELL, FIRST OF ALL, WE'VE NOTED THE JAVITS SPEECH AND OTHERS; AND I'VE ALSO NOTED THAT THE SENATOR OFFERED THIS AS A WAY OF ADDING TO AN INFORMED DEBATE ON THE MIDDLE EAST POLICY.

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PAGE 04 STATE 149462

(NOTE: ANSWER TO FIRST QUESTION OF PRESS GUIDANCE--STATE 149108--PRESENTED AT THIS POINT, WITH EXCEPTION OF INITIAL AND LAST SENTENCES.)

Q. THAT DOESN'T SOUND LIKE SAYING, THIS IS, YOU KNOW, OFF THE CUFF, PATCHED UP. (LAUGHTER.)

A. NO.

Q. DO YOU WANT TO PUT THAT IN CYRUS VANCE'S NAME OR SOMEBODY OTHER THAN THE SPOKESMAN, OR DO YOU WANT TO SORT OF BE RESPONDING TO THE RATHER AMIABLE QUESTION (LAUGHTER) WITH A TOTAL OUTLINE OF ISRAEL WITHDRAWAL. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO SAY IT?

A. I THINK IT CAN BE SAFELY SAID THAT THIS REPRESENTS A POSITION OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

Q. DOES WEST BANK INCLUDE JERUSALEM?

A. WE ARE NOT REALLY PREPARED TO GO INTO ALL THE TERMS OF ANY PARTICULAR POSSIBILITY OF AGREEMENT. THIS IS, IN GENERAL, THE OUTLINE OF HOW WE SEE WHERE WE ARE AT THIS POINT.

Q. I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT PEACE. YOU WENT THROUGH A LOT OF WORDS THERE ABOUT THE KIND OF PEACE AND WHAT YOU MEAN BY PEACE; AND A LOT OF THEM ARE ELEMENTS THAT ARE VERY PECULIAR TO THE MIDDLE EAST, LIKE SECURITY. BUT IF YOU FORGET, FOR THE MIDDLE EAST FOR A MINUTE, PEACE IS A RATHER SIMPLE CONCEPT. IT MEANS A PEACE TREATY. NOW, DOES THAT MEAN THAT THE ADMINISTRATION THINKS THERE SHOULD BE A PEACE TREATY BEFORE ISRAEL MAKES ALL THESE

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PAGE 05 STATE 149462

SUGGESTED WITHDRAWALS, OR ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT SOME CONCEPT OF ENDING STATE OF WAR OR SOME BRAND NEW

JURIDICAL NOTION THAT IS BEING DREAMED UP ON THE SEVENTH FLOOR, OR DO YOU MEAN A PEACE TREATY? AND IF YOU MEAN A PEACE TREATY, GIVE ME ONE ARAB LEADER WHO HAS EVER SAID HE WOULD WRITE A PEACE TREATY WITH ISRAEL.

A. I THINK THAT WHAT I HAVE DONE IS OUTLINED THE GENERAL TERMS OF WHAT WE CONSIDER THE FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATION. I'M NOT PREPARED AT THIS TIME, SINCE WE HAVE NOT DONE SO IN THE PAST, TO OFFER YOU A SET OF SPECIFIC PRESCRIPTIONS.

Q. WELL, I'M NOT ASKING YOU.

A. AGAIN -- I KNOW. WAIT. BUT INSOFAR AS THE NATURE OF THE PEACE IS CONCERNED, I'M SIMPLY GOING TO SAY THAT AT THAT POINT THE ONLY LASTING PEACE WHICH CAN BE ESTABLISHED IS BETWEEN THE PARTIES IN THE AREA AND THAT THAT IS THE SET OF CONDITIONS THAT THEY HAVE TO WORK OUT THEMSELVES.

Q. SO A DEFINITION OF PEACE--YOU'RE DEFINING SOME ELEMENTS OF PEACE CLEARLY. YOU ARE THERE, ABOUT SECURITY ELEMENTS.

A. ABOUT A POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT, YES.

Q. YES; BUT I MEAN--BUT SO FAR AS WHETHER YOU MEAN A PEACE TREATY, WHETHER THE ADMINISTRATION IS SUGGESTING THAT A SETTLEMENT WOULD DEPEND ON A FORMAL PEACE TREATY, YOU'RE SAYING THAT'S SOMETHING FOR THE PARTIES TO WORK OUT.

A. THAT'S CORRECT.

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PAGE 06 STATE 149462

Q. HAS THIS STATEMENT BEEN COMMUNICATED IN ADVANCE TO THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT BY YOU YESTERDAY?

A. NO, IT WASN'T.

Q. WELL, I SEE THE SECRETARY HAS MR. DINITZ ON HIS SCHEDULE THIS AFTERNOON. WILL THIS BE A SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION?

A. THE AMBASSADOR IS GOING HOME, AS I UNDERSTAND IT-- GOING HOME FOR CONSULTATIONS. I DON'T KNOW WHAT SUBJECTS HE IS GOING TO RAISE, BUT I WOULD IMAGINE THAT THE GENERAL QUESTION OF AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST WOULD BE AMONG THEM.

Q. CAN I JUST ASK ANOTHER QUESTION ON THIS? IN YOUR STATEMENT IS RATHER EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO NOT EXCLUDING THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS. I'VE BEEN AWAY FOR THE LAST WEEK SO I'M NOT SURE ON ALL THE STATEMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE, BUT THIS HAS TO BE INTERPRETED AS A SORT OF STATEMENT IN ADVANCE OF MR. BEGIN'S VISIT HERE. HIS STATEMENTS HAVE MORE RECENTLY THOUGH, I THINK, BEEN MORE VAGUE ON WHETHER HE WOULD LIKE TO INCLUDE OR EXCLUDE THE WEST BANK.

I MEAN, WHAT IS THE DEPARTMENT'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEW ISRAELI GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON THIS?

A. I WOULD HAVE TO SAY ON BACKGROUND, THAT WE OF COURSE ARE AWAITING MR. BEGIN'S TRIP WITH GREAT INTEREST TO HEAR A SPECIFIC OUTLINE OF HIS POLICIES AND HIS GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES; BUT WE HAVE BEEN DISTURBED--AND THIS IS STILL ON BACKGROUND--BY SOME INDICATIONS FROM ISRAEL
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PAGE 07 STATE 149462

RECENTLY, INCLUDING REMARKS BY MR. BEGIN, THAT CERTAIN OF THE TERRITORIES, AND PARTICULARLY THE WEST BANK, ARE EXCLUDED AT THE BEGINNING FROM ITEMS TO BE NEGOTIATED. NOW, END OF BACKGROUND.

BUT I JUST WOULD GO ON AND SAY OF COURSE WE ARE WAITING WITH INTEREST TO LEARN PRECISELY WHAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS IN MIND.

Q. YOU MADE A REMARK A MINUTE AGO, WHEN YOU WERE ASKED ABOUT SENATOR JAVITS, THAT THIS CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEBATE ON THE MIDDLE EAST. HOW DO YOU OR THE ADMINISTRATION VIEW THIS DEBATE WHICH IS COMING UP? DO YOU THINK IT'S A GOOD IDEA TO HAVE ALL THESE THINGS DEBATED, OR DO YOU THINK SOME OF THE PEOPLE ARE CAUSING FURTHER DIFFICULTIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLICY WHICH YOU HAVE JUST OUTLINED?

A. NO. I DON'T THINK THAT WE VIEW THIS AS ANYTHING EXCEPT A HEALTHY INVOLVEMENT OF BOTH THE SENATE AND

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND YOU'VE ALL BEEN IN A PROCESS THAT I THINK WE'RE ALL COMMITTED TO--WHICH IS REACHING, OR HELPING THE PARTIES REACH, A PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AND I WOULDN'T SUGGEST FOR A MOMENT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION THINKS IT HAS A CORNER ON ALL THE WISDOM IN THIS AREA. AND I THINK DEBATE IS PART OF THE PROCESS THAT WE CAN TRUST TO BRING US TO A SETTLEMENT.

Q. CAN YOU TELL US WHICH REMARKS BY MR. BEGIN U.S. OFFICIALS HAVE MADE REFERENCE TO?

A. I WOULD HAVE TO BRING THEM OUT FOR YOU. I WOULD CERTAINLY FIND THEM FOR YOU.

Q. ARE YOU ALSO REFERRING TO THE REMARKS MADE BY
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PAGE 08 STATE 149462

GENERAL DAYAN SINCE HE TOOK OVER?

A. I WOULD SAY ON BACKGROUND THAT THE ANSWER TO THAT IS "YES."

Q. DAYAN OR BEGIN ARE DISTURBING YOU?

A. NO. I'M NOT SAYING THAT ON BACKGROUND. I WAS SAYING THAT THIS PARTICULAR CONCERN ABOUT THE WEST BANK MAY HAVE BEEN RAISED BY REMARKS THAT THEY HAVE MADE EXCLUDING, OR SEEMING TO EXCLUDE, THE WEST BANK.

Q. HAS ANYTHING HAPPENED ON THE OTHER SIDE THAT YOU FIND ANYTHING LESS THAN CONTRIBUTORY TO THIS PEACE PROCESS YOU'VE --

A. I'M REALLY NOT GOING TO --

Q. I MEAN, I REMEMBER THREE MONTHS AGO, WHEN MR. VANCE WENT TO THE MIDDLE EAST, YOU WERE ALL EAGERLY WAITING TO SEE WHAT THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL WOULD DO. HAVE YOU BEEN DISTURBED BY THEIR LACK OF ACTION ON WITHDRAWING THEIR COVENANT, FOR INSTANCE?

A. I THINK THAT WE HAVE NOT DEVIATED FROM OUR POSITION THAT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY -- I'M NOT GOING TO RUN DOWN THE LITANY. WE'RE STILL IN THE SAME PLACE WE WERE WITH THE PALESTINIANS.

Q. IS IT STILL THE THOUGHT THAT AFTER MR. BEGIN COMES HERE SECRETARY VANCE MAY TO THE MIDDLE EAST, OR IS THAT NONSENSE?

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PAGE 09 STATE 149462

A. AS I UNDERSTAND IT, WE WERE TALKING ABOUT TRYING TO SET SOME TIME FOR A TRIP AFTER MR. BEGIN'S VISIT HERE.

Q. PROBABLY BEFORE THE CHINA TRIP?

A. YES.

Q. COULD YOU TELL US WHAT THE MOTIVATION FOR THIS STATEMENT WAS TODAY? WAS IT SENATOR JAVITS' COMMENTS?

A. I THINK IT WAS IN GENERAL RESPONSE TO A NUMBER OF COMMENTS, AND THE SENATOR'S WERE CERTAINLY OF GREAT INTEREST AND SPOKE SPECIFICALLY TO SOME OF THESE ISSUES AND SPOKE TO THEM RATHER CONCRETELY, BUT I WOULD NOT, HOWEVER, SUGGEST THAT IT WAS SIMPLY IN RESPONSE TO ONE SPEECH. I THINK IT WAS AN ATTEMPT SIMPLY TO SPEAK TO THE KIND OF CONCERNS WHICH HE AND OTHERS HAVE RAISED.

Q. ARE YOU TRYING TO PRESSURE MR. BEGIN TO BE MORE YIELDING, PERHAPS, IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

A. I DON'T THINK THAT I'D USE THE WORD "PRESSURE" ON MR. BEGIN. NO. I WOULD SIMPLY SAY THAT WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO IS TO OUTLINE WHAT WE REGARD AS IMPORTANT ELEMENTS IN THIS VERY COMPLEX SITUATION.

Q. DID PRESIDENT CARTER HIMSELF READ THIS STATEMENT OR TAKE PART IN ITS DRAFTING WITH MR. VANCE?

A. I DON'T KNOW THE ANSWERS TO THAT.

Q. YOU DID SAY "ADMINISTRATION" THOUGH. CAN WE AT LEAST ASSUME THAT MR. BRZEZINSKI HAD HIS INPUT, BECAUSE A LOT OF IT READS LIKE HIM. (LAUGHTER.)

A. I THINK THAT YOU COULD SAY THAT THIS WAS AN AGREED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PAGE 10 STATE 149462

UPON POSITION.

Q. BUT IT'S BEYOND THE STATE DEPARTMENT, ISN'T IT?

A. --WHICH REPRESENTS THINKING BEYOND THIS BUILDING.

Q. YOU SAID THAT YOU WOULD NOT, AS A MATTER OF POLICY, REQUIRE ONE-SIDED CONFESSIONS, BUT IN YOUR STATEMENT YOU SEEMED TO BE MUCH MORE SPECIFIC ON THE NATURE OF THE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL THAN ON THE NATURE OF THE PEACE AT THE END OF THE ROAD. CAN YOU EXPLAIN THIS?

A. NO -- SIMPLY THAT WE BELIEVE, AS I HAVE SAID, THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN ELEMENTS THAT ARE FAIRLY CONCRETE THAT WE BELIEVE YOU CAN IDENTIFY AND OTHERS WHICH I THINK HAVE TO BE IDENTIFIED BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES.

Q. WELL, THE PRESIDENT, IN THE PAST, HAS GONE OUT OF HIS WAY TO MENTION THINGS LIKE DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES AND

TRADE RELATIONS AND YOU ARE EXCLUDING THESE ALL OF A SUDDEN.

A. NO. WHAT WE HAVE SAID IS THAT THE ARAB STATES, I MEAN FOR THAT SIDE OF IT WILL HAVE TO AGREE TO IMPLEMENT A KIND OF PEACE WHICH PRODUCES CONFIDENCE IN ITS DURABILITY. WE SIMPLY ARE NOT GOING TO TELL YOU WHAT ARE THE ELEMENTS THAT ARE GOING TO PRODUCE THAT KIND OF CONFIDENCE.

Q. BUT THE PRESIDENT DID IN THE PAST, AND NOW YOU ARE JUST CONCENTRATING ON THE TERRITORIES.

A. I WOULD SIMPLY SAY THAT THERE IS NO DEVIATION FROM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PAGE 11 STATE 149462

WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID INSOFAR AS THAT GOES. WE ARE, IN FACT, HOWEVER, RESPONDING TO SOME GENERAL AREAS OF CONCERN THAT HAVE BEEN RAISED.

Q. COULD YOU TELL US, SINCE YOU HAVE INDICATED SOME OF THE THINGS THAT THE ISRAELIS WOULD HAVE TO DO, YOU TALK ABOUT STEPS TOWARDS NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. WHAT STEPS TOWARDS NORMALIZATION DO YOU HAVE IN MIND AND HOW ARE THEY TO BE COORDINATED WITH THE WITHDRAWAL THAT YOU INSIST UPON?

A. NO. AGAIN HERE, WE DON'T HAVE A SET PROGRAM ON THIS AND WE DON'T HAVE A SPECIFIC SET OF GUIDELINES OR PROCEDURAL STEPS, AND I'M NOT PREPARED TO TRY TO GIVE WHAT WE DON'T HAVE.

Q. WELL, THIS GOES TO WHAT I ASKED YOU HERE. THERE IS AN ELUSIVE "IF" HERE, BUT AS WELL AS I CAN TRACE THE PRONOUN BACK, IT REFERS TO PEACE, AND YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT A PEACE THAT INCLUDES VAGUE, UNSTATED, BUT PUT THAT ASIDE, STEPS TOWARDS... I THOUGHT PEACE DOESN'T INVOLVE STEPS TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS' A FORMAL PEACE MEANS YOUR NORMALIZED RELATIONS. WHY ARE YOU BACKING OFF FROM THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS? WHAT KIND OF STEPS? WHAT ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT? THERE'S NOTHING INTERIM. IF THERE'S PEACE, YOU HAVE RELATIONS;

IF THERE ISN'T PEACE, YOU DON'T.

A. I THINK, WITHOUT DEBATING THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF THAT AREA, THAT YOU AND I BOTH COULD AGREE THAT THERE ARE AREAS IN WHICH THERE IS PEACE WITHOUT NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS.

Q. I DON'T KNOW OF LEGAL PEACE, BUT I MEAN, IF YOU'RE

GOING TO HAVE NORMAL PEACE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES, IT HAS
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PAGE 12 STATE 149462

ALWAYS BEEN ASSUMED, AT LEAST FROM THE ISRAELI VIEW-
POINT, THAT THIS WOULD INVOLVE AN EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS,
TRADE, ALL THE THINGS THAT YOU'RE BEING ASKED ABOUT.

A. I GUESS WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO SUGGEST IS NOT FROM
ANYBODY'S VIEWPOINT BUT OUR OWN AS TO THE POSSIBILITIES
FOR REACHING A SETTLEMENT HERE, AND I WOULD JUST
SIMPLY SAY ON THE POINTS YOU RAISED BEFORE THAT I
CAN GIVE YOU A NUMBER OF AREAS IN THE WORLD IN WHICH
THERE IS PEACE WITHOUT NORMALIZATION.

Q. THE MIDDLE EAST IS ONE OF THEM, THOUGH.

A. WELL, I CAN NAME YOU SEVERAL. I'M REALLY NOT GOING
TO DO IT, BUT WE DON'T HAVE TO THINK VERY HARD TO THINK
OF SOME THAT EXIST.

Q. WITH RESPECT TO THE STATEMENT, THE VERY FIRST
SENTENCE SAYS, "WE BELIEVE STRONGLY THAT PROGRESS TOWARD
A NEGOTIATED PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS ESSENTIAL THIS
YEAR IF FUTURE DISASTER IS TO BE AVOIDED." WHAT SORT
OF DISASTER DO YOU HAVE IN MIND IF THERE IS NOT SUCH
PROGRESS?

A. WELL, CLEARLY, THE GREATEST DISASTER YOU COULD
ENVISION IS THE RESUMPTION OF ALL-OUT WAR, AND I BELIEVE
ALMOST ALL THE PARTIES IN THE AREA HAVE AGREED THAT--
AT LEAST HAVE AGREED AT OTHER POINTS IN THIS YEAR AND I
BELIEVE STILL AGREE -- THIS YEAR COULD AND SHOULD MARK
THE TIME TO REACH AN AGREEMENT IN THE AREA.

I WANT TO SAY FURTHER, YOU KNOW, IN ANSWER TO SOMETHING
THAT WAS RAISED EARLIER THAT I WOULD NOTE THE SECOND
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PAGE 13 STATE 149462

SENTENCE AFTER THAT WHICH IS THAT, "WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT
THE ONLY TRUE SECURITY FOR ANY COUNTRY IN THAT TROUBLED
AREA IS A TRUE PEACE NEGOTIATED BETWEEN THE PARTIES."

Q. YOU DILUTE THAT IMMEDIATELY BY GOING ON TO SAY
THAT, "THIS PEACE SHOULD INCLUDE STEPS TOWARD NORMALIZA-
TION." THIS IS THE BASIC AREA OF DISAGREEMENT. THE
ISRAELIS HAVE TAKEN THEIR ONLY CONSOLATION FROM PRESIDENT
CARTER ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT HIS IDEA OF PEACE AGREES
WITH THEIRS. NOW YOU'RE SAYING THAT YOUR IDEA OF PEACE

ONLY INVOLVES STEPS TOWARD NORMALIZATION. THIS IS A MAJOR STEP BACKWARD, I THINK, IN THEIR EYES.

A. I DON'T REGARD THIS, AND I'M SURE IT'S NOT REGARDED, AS A MAJOR STEP BACKWARDS. WE ARE STILL SAYING THAT THE ACTUAL TERMS OF PEACE HAVE GOT TO BE NEGOTIATED.

Q. YES. TO GO BACK TO ONE OF THE POINTS THAT BARRY RAISED, WHETHER THIS STATEMENT COULD BE PUT IN THE SECRETARY'S MOUTH.

A. WELL, YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE TO ASSUME THAT VIRTUALLY EVERYTHING THAT IS SAID HERE HAS TO BE PUT AS COMING FROM THE SECRETARY'S MOUTH.

Q. I ALWAYS ASSUME THAT, BUT WE QUOTE YOU.

A. YES.

Q. AND THIS STATEMENT IS GOING TO BE READ RATHER CAREFULLY BY A NUMBER OF GOVERNMENTS AND IS LIKELY TO HAVE SOME IMPORTANT REPERCUSSIONS.

A. I WOULD STILL HAVE TO SAY THAT WHILE THIS COMES FROM THIS BUILDING THAT IT HAS INDEED BEEN SEEN AND CONCURRED IN ELSEWHERE.

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PAGE 14 STATE 149462

Q. WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, ARE YOU BASICALLY TALKING ABOUT DEFENSIBLE BORDERS? IS THAT THE KIND OF PEACE THAT YOU HAVE IN MIND?

A. I REALLY AT THIS POINT DON'T WANT TO GO MUCH BEYOND THIS STATEMENT. LET ME SUGGEST THIS -- AND AGAIN, THIS IS ON BACKGROUND: FOR THOSE WHO ARE INTERESTED IN PURSUING THIS, YOU MIGHT WANT TO DEAL WITH THE OBVIOUS ASSISTANT SECRETARY HERE.

Q. LET ME ASK YOU A COUPLE OF OTHER QUESTIONS: DOES YOUR KIND OF PEACE, THE KIND OF PEACE WHICH YOU HAPPEN TO BE SUGGESTING AFTER 30 YEARS OF WAR, AND YOU'RE JUST DROPPING ON US LIKE SOMETHING YOU DON'T CARE TO ANSWER, DOES THAT KIND OF PEACE INVOLVE DEFENSIBLE BORDERS FOR ISRAEL, AND SECONDLY, WHAT KIND OF DIFFICULT COMPROMISES SHOULD THE ARABS MAKE?

A. I THINK AT THIS POINT THAT I AM NOT PREPARED TO GO BEYOND THIS STATEMENT. I THINK THAT FOR AMPLIFICATION YOU NEED TO LOOK ELSEWHERE.

Q. COULD I ASK ONE POINT OF CLARIFICATION: YOU SAID THAT

THE QUESTION OF A HOMELAND FOR THE PALESTINIANS IS A
MATTER FOR THE PARTIES TO DECIDE. IS ISRAEL A PARTY IN
THAT ISSUE?

A. WE THINK THAT ISRAEL IS CLEARLY A PARTY IN THE WHOLE
AREA, AND A PARTY TO THE LASTING PEACE THERE.

Q. SO THAT IN DISCUSSIONS OF HOW THE PALESTINIANS CAN BE
ACCOMMODATED IN THEIR HOMELAND, ISRAEL SHOULD TAKE PART
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PAGE 15 STATE 149462

IN THAT DISCUSSION?

A. I SAID THAT THE EXACT NATURE SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED
BETWEEN THE PARTIES.

Q. DOESN'T THIS STATEMENT GO FAR, FAR BEYOND
RESOLUTION 242?

A. I'M SURE THAT WE TAKE IT AS A STARTING POINT FOR OUR
SUGGESTIONS.

Q. YOU ARE GIVING A TOTAL, SPECIFIC INTERPRETATION TO 242.

A. WE ARE CERTAINLY GIVING OUR IDEAS ON IT.

VANCE

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